539 514 "to look for firewood"; ma ke ofē̱ī̱, "I am going into the bush," and so forth. Even today I have to smile when I think of an incident that happened at the beginning of my stay in Alén. One of my Fang boys, who accompanied me on the hunt and was near a thick, half-rotted tree stump, suddenly said, "ma ke tsă ndžā̱ă̱ (I am going to get some firewood)." Under the impression that he really wanted to cut off some firewood from the tree stump, I countered this, to me unintelligible, notion, half amazed, half mockingly, with the words, "ye oa bĕ̱le ovŭ̱n (but do you have an axe)?" It was only after a while that I understood why I was struck by such an annihilating look of moral disapproval. After this faux pas, I became more cautious and was soon sufficiently polished to be a highly civilized person in the Pangwe sense, who in strange villages no longer spoke of the eduk (toilet), but instead, as a well brought-up "Pange," merely asked:

● 114 514

nge ba tšĭ́dăn ma, ma yā̱́le
If one drives (urges) me, I duck (hide)
[539] vĕ́?
where?

or: zĕ́n e medžā̱ e ne vĕ́?
Where is the way to the host (actually: head of the village)?

539 757 514 Further demonstrations of the Pangwe's feeling of shame with respect to natural requirements are the use of an enema syringe (which is directly connected with

101 This group of Beti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-
131 mans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngoro, and the Kombe.

●114 What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
174 be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Banend/, Yambasa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Yangafuk (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Betsinga and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

Lang

113 Language. See:

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

101 131 barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than 176, 000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 30 in the north, and from 9° 30 to 14° meridian in longitude.

101 114 Poutrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Poutrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12, 583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

114 The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

114 174 The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

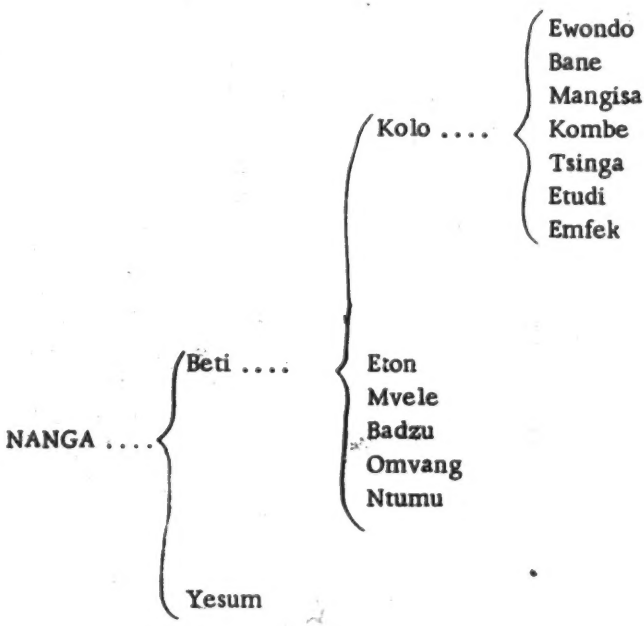
The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the
101 Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of
197 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the conclusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

114 According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large
101 groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

●114 with names beginning either with Eb (Makei) or with Es (Betschi).
101 The Governor General, Cournarie, after carefully surveying the peoples in the vicinity of Yaoundé, where he was administrator, prepared the following table:



And he concluded: "It appears that among the Beti one can also include the Badjia, the Bavek, the Bamvele, the Djanti, the Ngoro, and the Yangafuk."

It is impossible to say whether or not this problem will ever be solved, for it becomes more and more complex from decade to decade because of the changes which are taking place, with perhaps increasing speed. We would like future researchers to be aware of its complexity; they should not believe that we have thought to present solutions here.

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113 "Bericht über den äusseren Verlauf der Batanga-Expedition (Ende Oktober 1887 bis März 1888)" /Progress Report of the Batanga Expedition (End of October, 1887 to March, 1888)/ Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, pp. 6-30, 112-21.

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2,472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

● 114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

●114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

491 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

197 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

5: Balandier--1 E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

Part II. Chapter I

Fang Society

I. The Fang Country

●114 Fang migrations toward the Gabon coast continued until the beginning of the twentieth century. This thrust continues, and the terror it inspired among the populations which were driven back soon attracted the attention of the first explorers and colonists. As early as 1856, Du Chaillu succumbed to the attraction of the Fang country, conjuring up this "apparently restless and enterprising race" which strives to "take possession of the whole coastline." He knew that the key trading positions of the interior were to be found there. In 1884, A. Fourneau, then making his first expedition, was astonished by the conquering vitality of the Fang. He describes them as "intelligent, with very well-developed commercial instincts, not yet having the vices of the coastal tribes; there is no doubt that before long they will cause all the aborigines to disappear by absorbing them." (1) During the entire period of

1. A. Fourneau, Au Vieux Congo, Notes de route [In Old Congo, Travel Notes], Editions du Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1932, pp. 41-42.

penetration, there was a kind of Fang mirage which tended to overestimate the importance of the group: according to the Marquis de Compiegne (about 1875), "an extreme density of population extending over a length of more than 400 kilometers"; according to Lesieur-Trilles (1900), a population "that must number several million"; and following his mission (1905-08), Captain Cottes, more precisely and affirmatively, puts the figure at "two or three million subjects " Actually, Europeans discovering the "interior" during the second half of the nineteenth century were surprised at a large migration toward the coast taking place under their eyes, along the Ogooué River in the opposite direction from

●114 their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, northeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier.
[161] They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 550,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camérounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Trezenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. I, 1936.

6: Alexandre and Binet--iii G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

114 Pierre Alexandre made several field trips to Gabon and Spanish Guinea while carrying out official duties in the southern Cameroons from 1946 to 1951. Since 1955 he has been connected with the University of Paris as executive secretary of the Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration musulmane, (C. H. E. A. M.) /Center for Advanced Study in the Department of Moslem Affairs/.

Jacques Binet has also held an administrative post in the /French/ Cameroons, and since 1954 has been on the staff of the Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer, (O. R. S. T. O. M.) /Bureau for Oversea Scientific and Technical Research/. He has carried out several missions in Pahouin country for the Conseil supérieur de la Recherche sociologique outre-mer /Higher Council for Oversea Sociological Research/, during the course of which he did research in juridical and economic sociology.

580 The authors wish here to express their thanks to the authorities of French Equatorial Africa whose kind assistance made this book possible.

4. Survey of Demography

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In addition to the usual reasons for lack of precision in demographic data, common to all the African territories (absence or inadequacy of a registery office, weak administrative structure, especially in the medical branch), there is in relation to the Pahouin group the fact of their belonging politically to four territories, of which one is not French.

For the southern Cameroons we have at our disposal good census returns and competent, up-to-date medical information issued periodically as a result of the obligation to furnish reports at regular intervals to the League of Nations and then to the United Nations. The heads of mobile teams of the S. H. M. P. /?/, which have been especially well staffed since Dr. Jamot's campaigns, collect during each tour anthropological information /9/ as satisfactory as their multiple duties and the intellectual and social level of the surveyed areas allow. The military personnel provided in varying proportions by the territorial administration permitted many colonial officials, particularly before and during the last war, to make individual studies, often detailed, such as those of E. André on the demographic development of the Ntoumou of Ambam.

The situation is less satisfactory in French Equatorial Africa. First of all the Federation government has never, like that of the Cameroons, had to arrange for regular reports to be submitted to international agencies. Furthermore—and especially—meager budgets have often forced the administration to assign territorial commands—whose headquarters and location have many times been changed—to junior officers or to subordinate civil servants lacking the necessary training for profitable work in this field and hampered, moreover, by the very size of the thinly populated districts. For a long time only approximate estimates were available for Gabon and the Middle Congo, erring mostly on the side of administrative optimism, in no way motivated by scientific considerations. The situation has greatly improved since 1946, but the imaginary character or inadequacy of earlier data may well falsify the conclusions to a considerable extent(1).

1. Cf. Sautter, L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'etude de la population du Moyen-Congo et du Gabon /Utilization of

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administrative documents for population study in the Middle Congo and Gabon/, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines, 1954, Nos. 7-8; Ziegle, Afrique équatoriale française /French Equatorial Africa/, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x; Christol, Un essai de fichier demographique au Cameroun /An Attempt at Demographic Classification in the Cameroons/, Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'Outre-mer, 1951, No. 20.

Finally, for Spanish Guinea the sources are rather inaccessible and of very uneven value. The best are probably the reports submitted by the scientific expedition of 1948 organized by the /Spanish/ Department for Morocco and the Colonies, of which the Anthropological Commission apparently made a study of demographic development in collaboration with the colony's health service: these reports I have not been able to obtain. The fiscal census carried out by Civil Guard officers in command of the "Demarcaciones /Demarcations/" seems to be considered a state secret; the census returns prepared by the Roman Catholic missions appear unreliable. If one accepts the total population figure given by official statistics, supposedly 172, 000 persons, it would be necessary to put the number of "Pamue" (the Spanish form of mpangwé) at about 50 percent of that total. Estimates made during the recent war by civil administrators and frontier officers of Gabon and the Cameroons are much lower, giving a total of about 130, 000 inhabitants, 50, 000 to 60, 000 of whom were Pahouin. Likewise, Spanish medical reports seem to be colored with a possible excessive optimism, attributing specially to biological causes a rise in population that results mainly from immigration.

In conclusion, the lack of agreement about even the composition of the Pahouin group makes the figures vary greatly, whether round estimates /10, table on pp. 12a-12e/ or genuine demographic indices. Thus we meet with totals that vary from 650, 000 to 1, 500, 000 Pahouin, with the differential index clearly positive or clearly negative according to the writer.

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My own estimate of about 820, 000 takes account of Pahouin only in the strict sense and leaves out the tribes whose affiliation is debatable (1). This group as a whole is growing slightly (the differential

193 pl. bisa) it means "extended family." The two words (which have different tones) come from sak, to ejaculate, to f.... /sic: probably foutre/ which would have led to *nsak, besak = genitor, father.

The pronominal classifiers have an important and typical role, that of connecting a noun and its complement or a noun-subject and its verb. Nevertheless, this rule does not seem to be absolute, and Boulou especially is quite ready to omit the connective in the genitive, particularly in the singular:

jôm é ntañgan or jôm ntañgan, biôm bi ntañgan or biôm ntañgan = thing or things of whiteness;

mon a fañ, bo' be fañ = a or some Fang;

alu e ne dibi, melu me ne dibi = the night (s) is (are) dark;

mvu j'adi, bemvu b'adi = the dog (s) eats (eat).

Fundamentally, verbs are divided into verbs of state or position and verbs of action, which are not conjugated the same way. One type is derived from another by affixation to the radical, which makes it possible to complete the defective conjugation of verbs of state by recourse to their active derivatives. Tense, mood, voice, and aspect are indicated either by affixation or inflection, or by using auxiliary verbs, some of which have a meaning by themselves, while others may only be used with another verb (the last are perhaps simple affixes).

Pronouns and pronoun-adjectives are well represented, while qualifying adjectives are rare, especially in Boulou, and are most frequently replaced by nouns of quality or state that do not agree. The same is to be observed concerning tool-words /mots-outils/: aside from a few adverbs, the invariable conjunction and preposition, nouns are mainly used:

éyoñ = time, circumstance = when; mfa'a = direction, orientation = toward; ajô te = this matter = thus, therefore, consequently, etc.

194 From the phonetic point of view the outstanding trait of the group is undoubtedly the use of tones, which is the basis of telephony by drum (nkul), bell (nkeñ), or modulated cry (ékiga). Bates and Johnson recognize five tones, plus the glissando of the negative. Bertaut, following the German scholars, distinguishes two fundamental tones, high and low; two derived ones, ascending and descending;

and a middle tone. Father Stoll, raising the problem again in a recent work, turns it upside down by describing two fundamental tones, symmetrically contrasted, two dominant tones, and eight compound /composés/ or gliding ones, all of them together classed as eight principal (four simple and four gliding) and four secondary ones. He connects this symmetrical system with the cosmogony, proving his point with an illustration from the sô rite. The battle among specialists is too violent for me to express an opinion. I shall restrict myself /25/ to pointing out that the nkul and the nkeñ only give two tones, and that in sending a message by one of these methods rhythm plays as important a part as do the tones (1).

1. But the balafo, mejeñ, consist of five xylophones of different tonality, each having six notes.

In the spoken language, and especially in formal speech, rhythm is just as important, and even those missionaries who possess a fine enough ear to avoid involuntary puns through tone usually do not succeed in mastering rhythm as can the last of the poet-storytellers. Current transcriptions do not, moreover, take rhythm or tone into account, the meaning of homographs emerging from their context. I think I observed here as elsewhere that the younger generation is inclined to forget the fine points of the language and no longer distinguish more than two tones, high and low, while the use of the nkul is daily losing ground.

A final important element in the language, especially in the oral literature, is represented by exclamative-descriptives, a series of locutions based on onomatopoeias or derived from verbs or modified nouns, reduplicated and often introduced by an exclamative particle or a click (2). Some of them are sufficiently accepted to be used in

2. Bertaut is one of the rare authors, if not the only one, to point out these clicks. I know of three in general use: one of approval, one of denial, one of warning. Others exist, used in hunting and still little known, which were perhaps borrowed from the Pygmies.

written texts, but the majority remain current only in the spoken language, the speaker moreover not hesitating to invent as need arises.

4. Classification

Most writers, from Meinhof to Guthrie, class the languages of the Pahouin group with the Bantu. In his general classification of Bantu languages (1948), Guthrie puts them in his area A, under the decimal number 60, including Ewondo, Bulu /Boulou/, Ntum /Ntoumou/, Mekaé, Zimu, Fañ /Fang/ (the so-called Betsi or Mazouna dialect, although he does not specify this) and Makɛ́ (doubtless eastern Fang, the dialect called Makina). Stoll includes Ewondo in his work on the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages of the Cameroons, without specifying whether he classes it with one or the other (3).

> 3. In its reports to the United Nations, the Cameroons government qualifies the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons as "neo-Bantu."

Yet it seems certain that, if these languages are really to be included in the Bantu family, they form a special category, which cannot be likened purely and simply to the unquestionably Bantu languages of adjacent populations. Besides, there is discussion as to whether the Pahouin invaders brought their language with them or have adopted and changed that of the peoples established before them on the Cameroons-Gabon plateau. There has also been some hesitation about classing the languages /26/ of the border tribes, notably Mekaé and Kozimé, either with the Pahouin group or with the adjacent Bantu groups. For instance, while it is agreed to put Ngumba beside the Bantu languages of the coast, Mekaé, which is certainly related to it, is classed sometimes with the Pahouin tongues, sometimes with those of the Bantu of the eastern Cameroons.

The existence of a nominal gender (Bates' Class III) lacking a classifier prevents our putting the group among "agglutinating languages with a perfect class system having a special pronoun for each class," where Delafosse places Bantu. Mademoiselle Homburger (Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/, p. 69) makes of it a separate family, close both to coastal Bantu and to semi-Bantu. In the chapter she devotes to Bantu in Les langues du monde /Languages of the World/

197 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to
114 its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo. -Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that
262 their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroon, Rapport à l'Office

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason, " the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J. B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation, " extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

I shall therefore limit myself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

181 opinion is quite widely shared by foreign observers. "Much more intelligent and... more active and harder working than the average Negro... they also have more forethought... they compare with other Negroes as do Aryans with Semites and the red men /Rouges/ ... capable of acquiring a certain amount of intellectual cultivation and of performing all sorts of industries," wrote Largeau in 1900. Before him, Du Chaillu /had written/: "Proud and fierce warriors... clever and industrious... that will supersede... the degenerate tribes (of the Ogooué)," while Horn, who did not like the French at all, thought the "Mpangwe" of 1875 to be the "Prussians of Africa," which, considering his attitude and the period, was a compliment. Later, Trilles favorably compares their moral standards with those of Europeans; his Protestant colleague Grebert speaks of their "individualism," their "fierce love of liberty." The portrait admits, it is true, of some reservations: "brusqueness," "brutal frankness," along with "unreliability," "malice," and "greed for gain" for Largeau, "pride," "tendency to hoard," "stubbornness," for Grebert, "cruelty," "avarice" for Du Chaillu, "superstition" for Horn, while Compiègne thinks they "disappointed Admiral de Langle's hopes (for their ability to become assimilated)." It is a remarkable fact that these "defects" may just as well appear aspects of their "good qualities," just like the strictures on "anarchy" and "rebelliousness" that often turn up in the official reports.

All these evaluations still hold good, clearly subjective and /89/ nonscientific as they are, just as are those I have been able to make myself and which lead me to say that I have actually met among the Pahouin I associated with a large proportion of intelligent, energetic, high-spirited /fiers/ people, endowed with a sarcastic humor well illustrated in many recent novels and also in the giving of nicknames, especially to government officials, and in the celebrated caricatures of Monewoso among the Boulou.

●114 153 The only scholarly work on this subject that I know is some research done in the Cameroons by Stoerkel, head of the Service de Psychotechnie et d'Orientation professional /Psychotechnical and Vocational Guidance Service/, which does not seem to have been published. This research was done in 1949-50 at the beginning of the construction of the Edéa dam. The studies revealed, among the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, motor adaptability, concentration, and capacity for integration superior on the whole to those of other

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
[125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Ezo Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

656 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of akum, wealth, and of biôm, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

88| community. After another sacrifice, the bevôn were again confined inside the ésam sô, where initiates had dug a narrow passage and covered it with wattling and earth, the bottom strewn with thorns, crushed pimento, and warrior ants. The bevôn would receive final instructions, then, after taking mud baths, grunting like hogs, they had to crawl through the passage previously filled with smoke, while the minkpwangôs struck and pricked them with assagais through the cover; a mvôn who rose up or tried to escape was immediately killed by prisoners stationed outside the enclosure. This was the third stage, the true "death of the sô," awu sô.

After leaving the esam, the bevôn were supposed to be aggressive, teasing, to worry the other villagers, steal food, fowls, etc., tear down barriers, and in general behave like wild beasts. This period lasted for several days, preceding the sortie of the sô, akui sô, a parade of the group in war dress, carrying spears engraved with the distinctive clan mark, ndem, which had been consecrated during the initiation. A feast followed. For six months (mbu) afterward, the new initiates were still subject to certain sexual and food prohibitions, from which they were freed if they killed a man during the period. At the end /100/ of this waiting time, they went away, painted white, into seclusion for a night and came back painted red, making the rounds of the village nine times in procession. Then they bathed in a stream where fishing was afterward forbidden until the initiation of the next group, apparently.

A young man thus initiated became a mone wôsô, child of the death of the sô (wu = to die; wôé = to kill), thereafter ready for marriage, which would make him a complete man, nya môtô. His [76] father might instruct him in the family cult, which till then he knew only in its externals; he was taught to identify the ancestral skulls kept in the biéti basket and to enter into communication with them [276] by means of the narcotic herb alan. Sometimes the instruction was given collectively in the melan rite, which, according to Stoll, complemented sô, the latter being androgynous, while the former was gynandrous. Sô was to give creative power, melan fecundity and wealth. Melan has a medical aspect lacking in sô; the participation of women is greater. Some elements seem to have survived until the present day, whereas the last sô ceremonies must have occurred about 1940. Stoll gives a pretty full description in La tonétique des langues [114] bantu... du Cameroun /The Tonal System of the Bantu Languages ... of the Cameroons/ (no. 84).

771 778 114 The first observers described the Pahouin, especially the Fang, as "less superstitious," "less given to fetishism" than neighboring populations. Trilles and Martrou emphasized their profound religious sentiment, while Allégret (no. 147) gives very interesting information about the feeling of religious destitution they experienced, particularly after contact with Europeans. Often observed also has been the ease with which they would adopt new beliefs and ceremonies, and this refers not only to Christian sects but to cults like bwiti and ngôl and even, before the last war, to freemasonry in the vicinity of Libreville.

All these influences are so intermingled that we must resort to a kind of conjectural palaeontology in order to reconstruct their original beliefs. Without casting any reflection upon the intellectual integrity of observers like Trilles and Martrou, we must recognize—and regret—that a certain professional slant from time to time affected their conclusions, to a point that induces us to turn instead to laymen much less well qualified linguistically, like Largeau, of whom Trilles has shown himself perhaps a little too critical.

a. Concept of God, Creation

776 The Pahouin believe (or used to believe, see later on) in a creator god Mebe'e (Fang, Mebere, Mebeghe), eternal, formerly immanent, becoming infinitely transcendant after the first nsem.

The word Mebe'e seems to be related to the verb be'e, to carry, which has the agent-noun, mbe'e. Mbe'e is a plural form, corresponding to nouns of action and also to the collective plural forms of names of liquids (mendim = water, metyi = blood, meyôm = sperm, etc.). It is usually accompanied by triple apposition: "Mebe'e, Mebe'e menkpwa, sokuma, mbongbwe" (or, according to Trezenem, mba angwe). The meaning of these three qualifiers is as uncertain as that of Mebe'e; menkpwa should probably be connected with kpwaé = to strike down, to judge, to condemn; sokuma with kôm (kum) = to arrange, to direct, sô conveying the idea of generosity, rectitude, balance (Boulou, soso, zoso); mbongbwé would then, according to Grebert, mean "creator of generations" (bo = to make; ngbwé = maternal kinship), but could also be /108/ connected with ngbwa = love, friendship, alliance, with the sense of "he who makes an alliance" or "he who loves."

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's
[554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[836] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and
[782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize
869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion
881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When
[276] he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of
614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis-
● 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
614 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points
of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories;
it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on
the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The
following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[557] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

614 Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
825 cally related to totemism:

Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration, mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ, "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /creation/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known. Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

6: Alexandre and Binet--173 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

113 In addition to the works indicated below, the following periodicals,
114 among others, should be referred to:

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Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, at present the Cameroons section of the I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/. (B. S. E. C.)

. . . . . .

And from the local press, among others:

Radio-Presse du Cameroun: has published stories and, in 1949-50, an open debate upon marriage problems.

. . . . . .

For the Cameroons, the Annual Reports to the League of Nations, then to the United Nations, contain a great deal of material, especially on social, political, and economic development; see also the publications of the O. M. S. /?/

Many of the works mentioned contain bibliographies, in part included below; see particularly Trilles (no. 166), Dugast (no. 133), Balandier (no. 175), Baumann and Westermann (no. 5), Leroi-Gourhan and Poirier (no. 25), Encyclopedie de l'Union française (nos. 37 and 38).

The archives of the colonial government, in the /local/ posts as well as in the political offices of /district/ headquarters, constitute a very rich source, partly exploited for Gabon by Balandier, for the Cameroons by Binet, Madame Dugast, and Sister Marie-André of the Sacred Heart. Further, J. P. Nicolas has microfilmed for the I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/ certain material preserved at Yaoundé. /138/

5. Baumann, H., and Westermann, D. Les peuples et civilisations de l'Afrique /The Peoples and Civilizations of Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1948. 605 pp., ill.

In Baumann's view the "Fan" are a people of Sudanese origin who came from the Upper Sangha and mingled with the Bantu inhabitants of the invaded region; linguistically Bantu; culturally placed in the group of "North Congo peoples."

113 114

13. Compiègne, Marquis de. L'Afrique équatoriale. I. Gabonais, Pahouins, Gallois; II. Okenda, Bangouens, Osyéba. Paris, Plon, 1875. 2 vols. of 360 pp., ill.

Monsieur de Compiègne is ironical about "Duchaillu," the particle of whose name induces in him suspicion of his sincerity. He is mistaken.

17. Du Chaillu, P. Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa. London, John Murray, 1861.

Alongside exaggerations which sometimes come near to being jokes, the book contains very exact and very valuable observations of the Fang invasion.

21. Horn, A. Trader Horn. La Côte-d'Ivoire (sic) aux temps héroïques /The Ivory Coast—sic—in the Heroic Period/. Paris, Stock, 1932. 303 pp.

Old Horn was a much more daring liar than Du Chaillu; nevertheless, his memoirs are interesting just because they are those of a "trader." /139/

25. Leroi-Gourhan, A., and Poirier, J. Ethnologie de l'Union française /Ethnology of the French Union/. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953.

This has the Fang coming from Bahr-el-Ghazal (following Bowditch, Gautier, and Vallois).

30. Richard-Molard, J. "Groupements ethniques et civilisations nègres d'Afrique /Ethnic Groupings and Negro civilizations of Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-mer, 1952, no. 17.

A brief and very good analysis of the results of the "ayoñ regrouping" movement.

41. Cottes, A. La mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Paris, Leroux, 1911. 254 pp., ill.

Anthropological information and photographs. /140/

46. Grebert, F. Au Gabon /In Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1948. (3rd ed.), 237 pp., ill.

This deals primarily with the Fang of the Ogooué; good illustrations.

48. Largeau, V. Encyclopédie pahouine /Pahouin Encyclopedia/. Paris, E. Leroux, 1911. 700 pp.

In spite of the criticisms of Father Trilles, who accuses Largeau of not knowing the Fang language and of having an uninitiated "boy," the Encyclopédie is still a mine of invaluable information, often more accurate than that of Trilles.

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114

51. Pedrals, D. P. de. "L'origine des Fang /The Origin of the Fang/," Tropiques, 1952, vol. 50, no. 348.

A version of traditional history collected from prominent persons in the southern Cameroons, some of whom were our own informants. Hard to use because of faulty transcription of certain names.

54. Tessmann, G., and Wasmuth, E. Die Pangwé, Volkerskundische Monographie eines westafrikanisches Negerstammes /The Pangwe, An Ethnological Monograph on a West African Negro People/. Berlin, Hansa verlag für mod. Literatur, 1913. 2 vols., 275 and 402 pp., ill.

The summa on the group as a whole, including "Pahouinized" neighbors. It would be worth translating, even after a half century.

55. Trezenem, Edouard. "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué /Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué/," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, vol. VI.

One of the best recent works on the Fang of Gabon; unfortunately the transcription of certain words makes them unrecognizable. /141/

68. Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, 1934. 131 pp.

The only work to give a glossary of exclamatives, descriptives with ne, which play an important role in the oral literature.

70. Greenberg, J. "Etude sur la classification des langues africaines /A Study of the Classification of African Languages/," B. I. F. A. N. P., vol. XVI, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1954), pp. 83-142; vol. XVII, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1955), pp. 59-108. Ill.

There is no specific reference to the Pahouin group, which appears to be included in the Nigero-Congo /language/ family.

71. Guillemin, L. "Le tambour d'appel des Ewondo /The calling drum of the Ewôndo/," B. S. E. C., 1948, nos. 21-22, pp. 69-84.

Indispensable to a study of the nkul; it contains many mindan (indicative) notations, words, and music.

113 114

72. Guthrie, Malcolm. The Classification of Bantu Languages. London, Oxford University Press, 1948.

This classes the Pahouin language in Zone A, Group 60 of Bantu. It ascribes as characteristics the absence of size-gender (inaccurate, for there is Class ô/a for small objects, Class a/me for collectives and for large objects) and the absence of the correlation of gender with idea (inaccurate).

77. Homburger, Lysias. Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/. Paris, Payot, 1951. 256 pp.

This describes the "leapfrog" advance of the Pahouin. It places their languages in a separate family, close to, but different from, that of the coastal Bantu languages of northern Congo.

78. Homburger, Lysias. Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /Negro-African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/. Paris, Payot, 1941. 350 pp.

Classes the Pahouin languages in a group intermediate between the Sudanese and Bantu.

79. Lejeune, R. P. /Rev. Father?/. Dictionnaire français-fang, précédé de quelques principes grammaticaux sur cette même langue. Paris, Faivre & Teillard, 1892. 347 pp.

Like nearly all such works of the period this follows too closely the grammar and syntax of French and Latin. /142/

81. Martrou, L. Lexique fân-francais. Paris, Procure générale, n. d.

A "Catholic Fang" transcription which cannot be reproduced on the universal keyboard; it does not give tone levels; has about 3, 500 words.

84. Stoll, A. La tonétique des langues bantu et semi-bantu du Cameroun /The Tone System of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages of the Southern Cameroons/. Paris, n. d. Memorandum No. IV of the I. F. A. N. Center, Cameroon, 1955. 172 pp., 2 tabls.

In addition to a new theory of tone levels, this has interesting suggestions about the so and melan rites, with an account of the theory of double symmetry, which is supposed to underlie Pahouin cosmogony.

93. Binet, J. Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets among the Cacao Planters of the Cameroons/.

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Paris, C.S.R.S.O.M., "L'Homme d'outre-mer" series, no. 3, 1956. 154 pp., ill.

Research done in the southern Cameroons in 1955-56. This is comparable with the work of Sautter and Balandier in northern Gabon.

98. Grebert, F. Monographie ethnographique des tribus Fang, Bantous de la forêt du Gabon /Ethnographic Monograph on the Fang Tribes, Bantus of the Gabon Forest/. Geneva. Manuscript, 36 pls., 719 drawings.

This unfortunately unpublished work constitutes the best pictorial representation of the Pahouin peoples. One of the six copies can be consulted in France, at the library of the Evangelical Missions. /143/

109. Bearth. "Le nsig-n'to, ancienne coutume Bane /Nsig-n'to, An Old Bane Custom/," Togo-Cameroun, January, 1930, pp. 313-332, ill.

The high judge nsig-nto was perhaps a high-ranking ngil dignitary.

110. Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulou /Customary Law of the Bulu/. Paris, Domat-Montchrestient, 1935. 308 pp.

In spite of the title this book deals not only with the Bulu but also with their northern neighbors, including the Ewôndo; there is a detailed description of the sô ceremony, a good study of juridical customs and also of living habits.

119. Koch, H. "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Badjue and Bikele of Messamena/," Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises,

This gives concrete examples of the progressive "Pahouinization" of the border tribes (here under Bulu influence). /144/

120. Mba, L. "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin /Essay on Pahouin Customary Law/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1938, no. 25, 46 pp.

An interesting essay by one of the Fang political leaders in Gabon.

122. Panyella, A., and Sabater, J. "Esquema de la antroponimia Fang de la Guinea española desde el punto de vista etnologico /Outline of Fang Nomenclature (?) in Spanish Guinea from the Ethnological Point of View/," A.I.E.A., 1955, VIII, no. 34.

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The most recent study of the anthroponymy /nomenclature?/ and rules for name giving; interesting observations on the designation of segments and lineages by the name of a female ancestor.

125. Zoll'Owambe, Ch. "Visage africain d'une coutume indienne et mélanésienne /An African Aspect of a (North American) Indian and Melanesian Custom/," Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 55-60.

A description of the bilaba potlatch, somewhat marred by confusions in the translation of salient points.

126. X.... "Tenue de palabre /Discussion Session/," B.S.E.C., 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 141-146.

An extract from the archives of the Ambam subdivision; observations by Ntumu and Mvae men of standing on marriage customs and their evolution.

133. Dugast, I. "Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun /Ethnic Inventory of the Southern Cameroons/," Mémoires of the I.F.A.N. (Cameroons Center), "Populations" Series, no. 1, 159 pp., ill.

The most recent synthesis of the subject. It is to be regretted that the same work could not have been done for Gabon and Guinea. /145/

147. Allegret, E. "Les idées religieuses des Fang /The Religious Ideas of the Fang/," Revue d'histoire des Religions, vol. 50, 1904, pp. 214-233.

An interesting note on the religious "defeatism" which the Fang seem to have experienced especially after contact with Europeans.

151. Garnier, C., and Fralon, N. Le fétichisme en Afrique noire /Fetishism in Black Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1951.

Some notes on the rites of the Cameroons Pahouin.

152. Guillemin, R.P. Le rite "ésye." B.S.E.C., 1948, nos. 23-24, p. 71.

An excellent description of a purification rite among the northern tribes. Interesting notes on practices of divination.

153. Jemba Medu. Nnanga Kon. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, n.d.

This novel, which is unfortunately out of print, is a mine of ethnological and linguistic information. Written in rather archaic and learned language, it is quite difficult to read

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nowadays. It is to be hoped that it will be translated by a Bulu of today.

155. Lavignotte, H. L'évur, croyance des Pahouins du Gabon /The Evur, A Belief of the Pahouin of Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1936. 118 pp.

A very full commentary on ngbwel sorcery and methods of protection against it. /146/

156. Leroux, L. G. "Etude sur le ngil, confrérie fan /A Study of ngil, a Fang confraternity/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1925, no. 6.

The author, although thoroughly understanding the judicial and warlike functions of ngil, is in favor of its suppression in the interests of public order.

158. Martrou, L. "L'âme fang après la mort /The Fang Soul after Death/," Anthropos, VI, 1911.

This bears comparison with the traditions collected by Largeau; Martrou knew the country and the language better, but, like Trilles, his interpretation seems at times to be influenced by his preoccupations as a priest.

159. -----. "Les éki des Fang /Fang éki/." Münster. Anthropos, I, 1906.

A good study of prohibitions, though far from exhausting the subject.

161. Nassau. Fetishism in West Africa. New York, Young Peoples' Missionary Movement, 1904.

Little information relative to the Fang; the author knew primarily the coastal populations.

165. Trilles, H. "Proverbes, légendes et contes fang /Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales/." Neufchâtel. Bulletin de la Société neufchâtelloise de géographie, Vol. XVI, 1905. 247 pp.

Phonetic transcriptions and translations "omitting what is smutty" (sic). In spite of the cuts this is the most complete collection.

166. -----. Le totémisme chez les Fân /Totemism among the Fang/. Münster i. W., Bibliothèque Anthropos, 1912, 653 pp.

This is Father Trilles' magnum opus. As in all his works, there are, along with subtle and accurate observations, somewhat risky generalizations and surprising lacunae, which may come from a certain professional slant. In spite of these, Father Trilles remains the great authority on the Fang.

113 171. Aubame, J. Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/. 114 Brazzaville, 1947.

A program for clan regrouping of Fang villages put forward by the deputy of the second constituency. /147/

175. Balandier, G. Sociologie actualle de l'Afrique noire, dynamique des changements sociaux en Afrique centrale /The Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa, The Dynamics of Social Change in Central Africa/. Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, 510 pp.

The first part of this work, which is devoted to the Fang of Gabon, contributes a new explanation of the social malaise afflicting the Fang and of the attempts at social reconstruction based on tribal regrouping and syncretist cults. It is the best book on the Fang since Trilles, Largeau, and Tessmann.

180. Celine, L. F. Voyage au bout de la nuit /Journey to Night's End/. Paris, Denoël, 1932.

The same kind of thing as no. 187 and no. 195.

182. Eza Boto. Ville cruelle /Cruel City/. Paris, Editions africaines, n. d., 219 pp.

A good study of the present younger generation, of the attraction of towns and the fear they inspire, and the conflict between generations.

183. Faure, F. Le diable dans la brousse /The Devil in the Bush/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, "Je sers," 1953. 165 pp.

These edifying tales contain a good deal of information about the social and family organization of the Fang of Gabon.

187. Marie-André du Sacré-Coeur, Sister. La condition humaine en Afrique noire /Man's Fate in Black Africa/, Paris, Grasset, 1953. 260 pp., ill.

Notes on marriage in the southern Cameroons, sometimes a bit farfetched. /148/

191. Mongo Beti. Le pauvre Christ de Bomba /The Poor Christ of Bomba/. Paris, R. Laffont, 1956. 370 pp.

A novel concerned with the consequences of Roman Catholic mission activity; often unjust, but indispensable for an understanding of the most recent developments.

6:Alexandre and Binet--181 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

113 193. Oyono, F. Le vieux nègre et la médaille /The Old Negro and
114 the Medal/. Paris, Julliard, 1957. 209 pp.

Oyono belongs to the tradition of the mvet players, satirical story-tellers, always harsh and often unjust.

195. Schweitzer, A. A l'orée de la forêt vierge /On the Edge of the Virgin Forest/. Paris, Payot, 1929. 231 pp.

Interesting though rather abbreviated comments on the social disorganization of the Pahouin of the Ogooué and of their reactions to culture contact.

196. X....Ekomi, histoire d'un petit Pahouin racontée par lui-même aux enfants d'Europe /Ekomi, The Tale of a Little Pahouin boy, Told by Himself to European Children/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1921.

Conveys a moral.

101 The Bosyéba ... are no more numerous than the Bésex.
619 They have been classed perhaps wrongly as a separate people
161 and in my opinion are basically only tribes long detached from the Méké branch, whose distinctive tattooing and little altered language they have preserved. In 1889 when Fourneau reached [114] the Bosyéba country to the north of the Campo, he saw his porters, recruited in Méké country on the banks of the Ogooué, immediately fraternizing with the Bosyéba and delighted to discover their own tongue after crossing through Bétsi territory. (1)

1. Cf. A. Fourneau, "De l'Ogôoué au Campo" [From the Ogooué to the Campo], Bull. Ste. Geogr. Vol. 12 (1891), pp. 190-215.

[One paragraph deleted about an etymology which author considers "incorrect."--Translator]

The Guma, nowadays very few in number, have been driven back towards the Cameroons; they also are related to the Méké branch. Europeans often refer to the people of this whole group by the term "Makina" from ma ki na, "I say that..."; they have, in fact, a habit of starting all their remarks with these words. The Bétsi are called "Mazuna" for the same reason.

3. Size of the Fan Population

161 The Fan are by far the most important branch. It is extremely difficult to estimate their number. Officially they are only a few hundred thousand. But the official figure is far from accurate, for government statistics only count the man who pays taxes. Furthermore, more than half of the French Congo is unexplored except by a few, infrequent

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE FANG.

By Albert L. Bennett, M.D., F.E.S.

[WITH PLATES XIV-TO XVII.]

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XX. Fang Proverbs and Sayings.

I HAVE the honour to come before you this evening, for the purpose of making known to you the result of my observations while dwelling and labouring among that great and powerful tribe of the Bantu family, known as Fang. In presenting this paper, I do so fully aware of its deficiency; but the information obtained from natives was never accepted nor recorded as authentic, until it had been frequently confirmed by others. I also desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Council of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, for sending me a copy of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, a book which ever proved an invaluable guide and help to me while living among the Fang, and studying their customs.

I.—*Introduction.*

The large tribe of people known as Fang inhabiting a considerable portion of the French Congo was first described by Du Chaillu.

Records show that in 1867 the French naval officer Admiral Fleuriot de Langle placed the number of Fang within French territory at nearly sixty thousand. Since that time this powerful tribe has rapidly increased in numbers. Between the Ogowe River and the Gaboon, the Fang may be counted by thousands,

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and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from, the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bel' nnok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu awoti bel' nnok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu mpus* (the days that are past), *Melu ozu* (the days that are to come), *Melu mesoe* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbuttu and Nyamnyam people. There are several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon mpui* (dwarfs) first

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Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled*.

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Aso Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa leua lo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afun eto bè* (because their land was near at hand, i.e., near the regular village). *Fañ l'anyege infini ne be bidji binne* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, i.e., because thus they get good food). *Bilwa e djel ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal moe afun bilè* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (i.e., good land) near). *Nam ane afan betata benga to bilè* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angège infini, ne dzi bidji binne. Mo'mbok a gonevi betyit: bevok benga ndon* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Mendo infini me vic bo obè* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fañ, Bo'djí asez mbón bidiane* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

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Regarding the *Ebi* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Ebi* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpôngwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

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XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

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This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the N'komo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Française. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat.

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266 ● 114 that a man had been killed and eaten only two days before at the town of Olunda two miles below Nenge-nenge. Old king Kelun at Nenge-nenge confirmed the report, and in compliance with my request, loaned me an interpreter to accompany me to the place.

The tide being favourable, I decided to start without telling my boat boys the reason for my hasty departure. Olunda is quite close to the river bank, but upon our arrival the water had fallen so low that the only way to reach the town was by wading knee deep in mud up the bank. The people eyed our boat and myself in particular with marked suspicion, and much talking was indulged in during our landing. The headman was the most villainous looking specimen of a Fang I have ever met; he was well built and very muscular, but his face was extremely ugly and brute-like: he had only one eye, and an evil-looking one it was. He wore on his head an old red worsted trade cap, and smoked a dirty native clay pipe.

The object of my visit was well hidden, and we chatted on various matters in the palaver house. When I expressed a desire to walk through the town and treat any of his sick people, the headman said, "No sick here, people all away, let us talk in the *abeng*" (palaver house). However, without giving him any notice I presently left the palaver house and walked out into the main road, and the crowd followed. The headman repeatedly assured me that the town was not worth seeing; but I strolled leisurely along. Half-way through the town I noticed a quantity of intestines strung out to dry on sticks, and to the great annoyance of the headman and people, I made an examination of them which convinced me that they had been removed quite recently from a human body. I was assured that they were *entrails from a deer* and were being dried for the purpose of covering gourds to hold gunpowder. I then told the people the reports I had heard, also that I knew the intestines then drying were human, and accused them of cannibalism. They were very indignant, and declared, as all Fangs do, that their tribe never eat men. "Oh no, people in the far bush did, only bad Fang did so." A few moments later I picked up a human clavicle in the palaver house and took it away with me, threatening to report the matter to the Government.

In the palaver house of this same town was a boy of about sixteen years, in [727] chains, held as a hostage. I arranged to return in a few days and try to bring the lad to our mission station, but upon my return I again stopped at Nengi-Nengi, and then heard that the boy had been killed and eaten shortly after my departure.

266 I am inclined to believe that the reason for eating human flesh by the Fang is the result of a craving for animal food. The victims are generally males captured either in war, or members of other tribes waylaid and killed while journeying in the bush.

A Fang man told me that once he ate "some man" because he was persuaded to, and that it "passed goat far" (much superior to goat). He added, "I never do